34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

small households over a large area results in a very poor communication system in which fourth- or fifth-hand information usually arrives garbled and exaggerated through repetition, the erroneous rumors giving rise to misunderstanding, suspicion, and hostility.

Children frequently steal portions of cooked meat from one another and wrestle over them, which reflects the fact that meat is not always abundant in the household, depending on the father's hunting success and his immediate commitment to some other task, such as clearing trees. There is also a reluctance to give a small child more than a single piece of meat, for it is believed that varying the portion may cause it to cry when it doesn't get as much as it did on a previous occasion.

While stealing and wrestling over meat is disapproved of and, if repeated, may be punished by the father by spanking with a nettle, wrestling for its own sake between boys is approved and encouraged, although the father may advise them not to hurt one another. Sometimes nettle spanking may be used to stop children from playing, or the father may find it sufficient simply to threaten to bring a nettle. A child who regularly grabs things that he might damage, such as pottery bowls, may have his hand beaten with a nettle. In general, however, there is little in the Jívaro house that a child can damage, since pottery not in use is stored on high bamboo shelves, and personal effects are suspended in baskets out of their reach. As a result, discipline with regard to safeguarding property is not emphasized.

If a child is extraordinarily bad, and, despite nettle spanking, continues breaking pottery vessels, taking meat without asking permission, and stealing peanuts from storage baskets above the rafters, the parents may undertake the harshest punishment they ever use on children. This consists of drop-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

boys perform most of the tasks of their
• 865 fathers, including participation in the defense of the house and in attacks on enemies. A son may accompany his father on a raid as early as the age of six; but it is more common for this to happen when he is nine or older.

884 When a boy reaches the age of about sixteen, he formally
[825] undertakes to establish his adult status by going into the forest, killing a tree sloth, and making a *tsantsa* of its head (for the supernatural reasons, see pp. 143–49). Then two *tsantsa* feasts of celebration are given by the father or other older male relative in which all the ritual precautions of the human head *tsantsa* celebration are observed, although the feasting is not as lavish.

884 With the second feast, the transition of the head-taker into
292 adult life is implicitly recognized, and he is now entitled to
301 wear the *etsemat*, the basic headpiece of Jívaro men, con-
[237] sisting of a long cotton band with a red and yellow toucan
[721] feather tassel (see Plates 12–15). The donning of this headband has significant overtones since it is used by men not only to keep their hair in place but also in war to hang a human head from the shoulder. He may also now carve a
884 round stool for himself, although he usually does not do this
[721] until, or unless, he has participated in a regular killing expedition. Finally, the giving of the feasts means that he is en-
[582] titled to get married, but he probably will not actually do this until he is about twenty-one to twenty-three years old.

881 A somewhat analogous pair of feasts is given as puberty
884 celebrations for a girl. Both feasts are sponsored by the girl's father, the first being a minor affair of two days' length; the second being given about half a year later, after her family has been able to accumulate enough chickens and
[824] pigs to feed a large number of guests for six or seven days.
276 The supernatural aspect of this "coming out" celebration
[787]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

When you are living well, thus, with all your *sai* and *yači*, if someone comes and kills your *sai*, you have to avenge him. First of all, you have to bathe in the sacred waterfall, see *arutam*, and then you can kill. If you have not encountered *arutam*, you must not go kill, because you will die. When they kill someone in your family first, then you have to go and kill one of them. You can win by explaining that they killed first and that you are simply avenging his death. In this way, you can win. Also send the message, "If you kill me, my family will kill you." Then they also will say, "Yes, it is true. We cannot continue living and fighting. Let us calm down a bit. Since we are the same people, let us live peacefully. I want to stay in my house. I want to eat well." When they speak thusly, the feuding will end.

Learn to work. Let us work together. Since we have lots of beer, let us work together. Then when I die, you will know how to work. When we kill a pig, let us eat well, because when we die, it is all finished. So let us work well and eat well while we live. When we work, we work until midafternoon. When you are young, you want to work all day. But I tell you, "Enough, enough. It is very late. We have to return to the house and you have to bathe. Then let us eat well."

When I die, how is it going to be with you? Sometimes when another man drinks beer, he gets angry. But this is bad. You must not do this. When you are drinking, take a nap and then you can get up and drink some more. Dance. Never speak harshly, because some men thus start fighting with their *yači*. Don't do this or otherwise when you travel elsewhere the people will know and speak to one another about it. So don't do this, because then this will be a great shame.

Visiting and Parties

Young single men spend a great deal of a time visiting other households where unmarried female cross-cousins

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

piece). Similarly, he adopts an ever more forceful and aggressive style of speaking when receiving visitors, meeting others on the trail, or in visiting other men. He conveys the impression of being invincible in every aspect of his public demeanor. If he has a son, he encourages him to become a killer also, and instructs him to the extent of taking him on assassination expeditions even as early as the age of six or seven years. Although such a young boy will not yet take part in the actual killing, the father brings him up to the corpse after the murder and has him fire into it, with the father helping him hold the gun. The wives of such a *kakaram* also are expected to outperform other women in making superior pottery vessels, doing garden work and other aspects of household labor. Informants said that one way of looking at this was that since a *kakaram* is very much a man, his wives have to be very much women.

While a *kakaram* is greatly feared by his enemies, his neighbors usually look upon him as a great local asset, a deterrent to attacks upon them, and refer to him with the title *untä* (big) before his name, especially if he is also hospitable to them and generous with beer and food. Of course, there may be neighbors who get into a quarrel or other dispute with him; but they almost always move as soon as possible to another region of the tribe where they feel more secure. Thus there is a continual process of self-selection in terms of the composition of any neighborhood, which tends to reduce local antagonisms.

When a *kakaram* has become really famous, even his worst personal enemies may come to him to ask for help in killing someone. To make such a request, an enemy, accompanied by at least one bodyguard, will approach the house of the *kakaram*, firing his gun several times and frequently giving the standard visitor's yell, so that it will be clear